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The Maricopa
411 placed primary dependence on their bows and could make use of
•726 their very short clubs only when actually grappling with the foe. A number of war accounts I obtained make complaint of their inability to defend themselves with these short clubs in mêlées with the Yuma, whose pole-length clubs easily broke through their guard. Yet they were not prone to adopt the longer clubs for combat with the Yuma. Their preference is interesting; for
[171] while they followed the Colorado River peoples in battle formation, at least when fighting them, their dependence on shooting suggests rather that normal warfare was against the mountain bowmen, Yavapai and Apache, as indeed the accounts reveal. Even horsemen were frequently armed with bows rather than clubs.

411 Both self bows and sinew-backed bows were used. These were of the same length and shape, and according to my information, the sinew-backed were not considered superior. I was told that they were not harder to draw and did not give greater penetration to arrows. Self bows were more common than the others. The same bow, of course, served for hunting as well as fighting. Their bows could carry about two hundred and fifty feet, but they rarely shot at an object beyond one hundred feet. Even at this distance, the penetration of the arrow in the side of a deer was said to be not more than half an inch. It was evident that Kutox, who gave this information, had no great faith in their effectiveness. How far from deadly they were is evidenced by tales of men emerging from battle with several arrow wounds.

In fact, the bows being made of willow branches could have had no great strength. But they made up for weakness of material by their excessive length. The standard length was from the ground to the maker's forehead, but, of course, they varied. Yuma bows, they said, were the full height of a man. This agrees with the greater length of bows in the direction of Baja California which I have pointed out elsewhere.[31] There is as much a possibility that this was due to the weak bow material used there as to the greater stature of the dwellers on the lower Colorado.

All bows were straight for the greater part of their length,

[31] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 160.

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were trimmed parallel to the shaft, and were not cut serrate. The shaft was ordinarily painted red for half its length from the nock end, but some drew zigzag lines on it with their finger tips dipped in paint.

Quivers were of deerhide or a fox skin with its tail pendent; in fact, any skin, such as mountain lion, might be used. In this some twenty arrows were carried. It was tied to the belt in back with the mouth at the left floating ribs. In contrast, my informant pointed out, the Yuma slung it low on the left thigh, the Yavapai carried it on the back pointing over the left shoulder. ("They [the latter] were always creeping along.")

A bowguard was worn on the wrist of the bow-hand. Nothing could be ascertained beyond that it was of deerhide, laced with thongs. When they dressed for a dance, they wore this as an ornament (as the Navaho still do); a broad band with fringes hanging, by which girl partners would hold.

Poison was always applied to war arrows, it was said, but the "poison" (matapu'i) was jackrabbit blood and nothing more! "The jackrabbit is closely related to the cottontail. The latter was bitten by the rattlesnake at the creation, hence the jackrabbit contains the poison."[35] Hunting arrows were not poisoned.

Clubs were made of mesquite and ironwood, and were for use only in warfare. The conventional form had a cylindrical head with a long straight handle, sizable for gripping, in one piece; the whole about eighteen inches long. A specimen, made under the direction of old Kutox by his grandson, has an elongated knob head which only approximates this shape (Pl. XIII, *e*). It is also provided with a wrist loop tied in a groove encircling the tip.[36] Another, made by Charlie Redbird, has the same shape. This is generically the "potato-masher" type of the Pima and Mohave[37] but without the sharp contours. But the Maricopa, seizing the enemy by the hair, always used it with a downward smashing stroke at the temple, not punching upward as the Mohave habit. A straight club of the same length was also carried to be used

[35] See p. 348. [36] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11916.

[37] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 96; Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 751.

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND MEETINGS

619 National solidarity was strong among the Maricopa. This is
[171] the same sentiment recorded for other Yuman tribes of western Arizona and which sets them off so markedly from Californian peoples. The Maricopa constantly referred to themselves as a single homogeneous people, all participating equally in their group life and all united against their enemies. This despite the fact that their settlements were sprawling agglomerations of households spread over a considerable area.

[648] The solidarity expressed itself in at least three ways. There was but one chief for the whole tribe so far as is known. Men of prominence might be found in the several villages but they had no formal status as chiefs. Again, there were no internecine
[628] feuds. In all the long discussions with informants, there was never so much as a hint of conflict between families or villages. And
[701] further, in warfare they presented a united front against their enemies, whether in attack or defense. Minor raids took place, to
[726] be sure, but what stands out in their minds are the massed battles in which a large proportion of their able-bodied men took part. This attitude of the Maricopa seems to have been duplicated among the tribes now resident with the Maricopa when in their original homes on the Colorado, although here our data are so slight as to be inconclusive. But once the remnants of these
[563] tribes had been incorporated in the Maricopa community, they felt themselves completely identified with their Maricopa hosts as forming one coherent whole.

643 Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position
724 was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get
787 adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific ques-

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the wiping out of isolated enemy families discovered in the mountain caves.

Two quite different modes of warfare were adopted. Against the Yuma and Mohave, the Maricopa followed the Colorado River custom of formally arranging pitched battles. These were preceded by challengers who first pranced up and down shouting insults at their opponents, until they clashed in single combat, followed by a general mêlée in which foemen stood against each other until they were clubbed down. Against the Yavapai, tactics were wholly different. While they still went *en masse*, it was rather in the nature of a foray, a quick blow and a speedy return, resting largely on their ability as bowmen.

Winter was thought the best time to go to war, especially on nights that were stormy. The enemy would think it too cold to leave their houses and would feel safe indoors. This was also the time that the Maricopa expected raids. On stormy nights, cold and windy, when enemies were thought to be about, everyone in the community gathered for security to sleep in the meeting house. It was on such nights that sentries (matŏ'au'm, "standing by himself") were posted. They went around the settlement at a distance, but built no deceptive fires as Russell records for the Pima.[8] Stockades were unknown to informants, although they are reputed to have existed in this area.

A shaman was called on at such gatherings to use his clairvoyant power to find if the enemy were approaching (see p. 292). He invoked the attendance of the spirits of the mountains by sucking up four piles of dirt. The mountains were thought to enter one by one and divulge the whereabouts and intentions of the enemy through the shaman's interpreter.[9]

However strongly they may have felt that winter was the proper time for warfare, the intoxication of the sahuaro drink roused them to frenzy for war at the time of the sahuaro celebration (June). "When they drank this they thought of war." The song peculiar to the celebration tells of "red water," i.e., blood, its appearance and "how it is made": that the enemy has come

[8] *Pima Indians*, p. 201.

[9] Mountains as champions of the several tribes are described on p. 253.

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with the remainder of his personal belongings. Whether his position was transmitted was not disclosed.

This pike was a mesquite shaft, pointed at one or both ends, encircled at intervals by bands of red and black paint, and bearing pendent feathers. Kutox gave contradictory evidence regarding details: he stated that it was in length the height of its bearer, again that it was four to five feet long; that it was pointed at one end, again at both. A specimen which he had made for me (Pl. XIII, *a*)[13] is pointed at one end only and is forty-three inches in length. Another specimen made by Charlie Redbird is pointed at one end alone. The feathers were the largest plumes of buzzard and eagle, each bound individually to the shaft, leaving a space free for a hand grip at the middle. Halchidhoma and Maricopa made such pikes identically and alike called them hukwill'c.

Armament consisted of bows, short wooden clubs, and circular shields. Rarely a man might arm himself with a wooden pike. A warrior carried either bow, or club and shield; never both. Clubmen and bowmen went into battle as separate divisions; the clubmen always grouped to march in front, the bowmen following.[14] Each of these companies was said to have had its leader, presumably a spontaneous leader, since the absence of any special designation for them argues against formality of their status.

WAR DANCE AND SPEECHES

The night before setting out for war there was always a war dance (hupi'l,lg). Everyone participated: women, old and young, as well as the warriors who would comprise the party. Songs of all kinds were sung, "because they might lose some of their men and this would be the last time they would ever hear these songs." These followed one another through the night. Toward morning, when the dances were over, everybody left. Meanwhile some women had prepared provisions for the war party. This consisted principally of ground parched wheat.

[13] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11918.

[14] This division aligns with Pima and Havasupai habit. But at least clubmen were not paired with bowmen in the manner of the Havasupai (Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 250; Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 120, 202).

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The songs may not have been peculiar to this occasion. Informants mentioned vuspo", "deserted," ce, "buzzard," and vitaxi'c, "mountain killdeer," which were sung at other times as well. The Maricopa had pipa', "people," for both war and scalp dances; the Halchidhoma, hwiclvau', "enemy standing." Ivâđo' was named as peculiarly appropriate: the song of a stinging insect living by the rivers. But these three may also have been used at other times.

Pipa' told how the enemy fled for refuge and how they were found and brought as captives. It told ironically how, instead of being badly treated, they were well cared for; how a captive's father shed tears, not in sorrow, but for joy. Hwiclvau', "standing up an enemy," told how a father acted when one of his family was taken prisoner or killed.

The dance forms varied with the songs. For Buzzard, there were two opposing rows of men and women alternately, who moved backward and forward together. Anyone, young or old, took part. In the middle of one row was the singer flanked by a man on each side, all three provided with rattles. Killdeer had also a definite dance form, or more than one, but it does not seem that the description fits the war dance performance (p. 231). Deserted and Ivâđo' were songs without dancing: for the first, men and women remained seated, beating time with sticks on baskets; for Ivâđo', they simply sat in rings.

It was assumed that before the war party set out, the shaman who was to accompany them had dreamed of their success. As they neared the enemy he exercised his clairvoyant power in the manner described below (p. 176) to reveal the location of the enemy. This was less necessary in the case of the Yuma, who lived in the open valley, than the Yavapai, who lay scattered among the mountains.

Four set speeches were always delivered to the out-bound warriors by one who had dreamed of the mocking bird. These were known as xwlmtcâkwe'a^, "enemy speech." In content, if not in form, they were highly formalized. The first speech, delivered the night before they set out, encouraged them to go. It told that they would go together and help one another. The next night, when they had stopped to rest, the orator would tell how

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537 726 everyone wished them good fortune. The subject of the third night's speech was how anxious they were to see the enemy and how they would fare. On the fourth night he would exhort them to be indifferent; to throw themselves on the enemy or all return together. "We have come to fight the enemy and whatever becomes of us will be all right. If we are killed, we die with honor, but we may succeed in taking a scalp." Four speeches must represent an ideal form: how it was adjusted to the days actually necessary to move to the attack, I do not know. It took twice that time to reach the Yuma; the Yavapai were met within a day or two. But it does indicate how formal was the whole war procedure.[15]

Orators used in all speeches the abrupt, staccato, forced delivery described for Mohave and Yuma.[16] There is now no living orator. Last Star described the manner of speaking as follows:

> When an orator called to the people in the morning, telling them to go for their day's food, his first three or four utterances were said slowly and quietly, then the rest was spoken forcibly, abruptly, and loudly.

PITCHED BATTLES AND RAIDS

726 So far as present information goes two quite different methods of warfare were used against Yuma-Mohave and Yavapai-Apache. At least the circumstantial detail given in what follows strongly indicates this. What it means in effect is that the Maricopa adapted themselves to the methods with which they had to contend: the highly formal pitched battle arranged by the lower Colorado tribes in contrast to the foray into the mountains against Yavapai and Apache. This does not mean that the element of surprise attack was lacking in the former nor that the latter lacked artificialities.

The pitched battle against the lower river tribes was attended by large forces on either side, who, if not succeeding in attempted surprise, gave notice of their intention, arranging for open hand-to-hand combat. Thus, the Pima annals record that

[171] [15] The Pima shared this delivery of four formal speeches on as many nights on the warpath but it does not seem that the content was the same (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 202).

[16] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 209.

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma

Kohuana
Halyikwamai

the Yuma sent a messenger to the approaching Maricopa asking them to fight only with clubs, to which the latter agreed. He conducted them across the Colorado to where the Yuma waited.[17] As the contenders drew near, marching as compact groups, they halted, scratched a line on the ground, and stood along it facing each other.[18] Champions now sprang forward on each side to hurl insulting challenges at their opponents, until they had worked to the pitch of clashing in single combat. As soon as it appeared one of the champions was about to be bested, the whole body rushed forward in the wake of the victor. They met breast to breast in the mêlée, whacking away until their opponents were annihilated or broke and ran.[19] As soon as the battle was joined, there was no skirmishing, no flights of arrows; it was simple beating down of the foe with staves or short clubs. Mohave, Yuma, and Maricopa accounts all agree that of the several hundred engaged on each side not more than a handful of the vanquished, a half-dozen or a score, were left after the battle. It does not seem possible, that, as tradition relates, this type of warfare could have gone on from time immemorial. All of the nations alike would sooner or later have been reduced in numbers or wholly exterminated. That this actually happened in the case of the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai must mean that they always met overwhelming odds.

The challengers, who may not have been the actual champions, had their ability by reason of having dreamed of the mocking bird, that is, they were speechmakers. They marched along the long line drawn before their party, shouting insults at their opponents, whirling their bows in the air or dragging them with one end bouncing on the ground to make them dance up and down. Their performance duplicated their dream experience. The line represented a mountain, the long Sierra Estrella. They, like the mocking bird spirit of their dreams who led them the

[17] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 40.

[18] This is reminiscent of the Hopi in 1540, who stood on such a line to face Coronado's soldiers (Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, p. 488).

[19] The whole affair is reflected in the pseudo-historic tale of the Dog Champion (p. 396).

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726 [787] length of the sierra, went shouting the whole distance without taking a breath.[20] Other dreamers too assumed this part, like the man who dreamed of his dog as a champion.[21] The verbal interchange at the time the Yuma and Mohave descended on the Maricopa in 1857 is characteristic.

> The Yuma boasted they had been to the Cocopa three days before and killed everyone there.[22] They said they had come to stay a few weeks and marry [to trifle with?] some girls. The Halchidhoma champion replied, "When a girl wants to marry, she goes somewhere to stay a few weeks. So I think you came because we are handsome men. We will keep you three or four weeks, and if we do not like you, we will turn you away." Each side was implying that their opponents were women. When the Maricopa champion marched up and down, he said he had always been successful in battle; he would annihilate the whole Yuma tribe even though he die in the attempt. He was actually killed in the fight.

While the line that was drawn may have been a mark beyond which the enemy were dared to come, it was thought of as a mountain magically raised to give protection. The same device [526] was used to impede runners in intertribal races (p. 335). When the Halchidhoma and Maricopa were surrounded by the Yuma in the latter's territory, they drew a circle around themselves.

How far the combat was a formal game is evidenced by their attitude toward the surviving enemy. When a single foe remained ("a very fierce fighter") they did not think it fair for all to attack together. They surrounded him; then one would go forward alone. When the enemy shot, the attacker parried the arrow with his shield, or, watching carefully, jumped aside. As this man marched deliberately forward, he began to count slowly, meaning that he would kill the enemy before he had counted four. "He always killed the enemy before he reached the fourth count."

726 787 A man who attacked a single foeman like this was one who had dreamed of it. He dreamed that as he approached some fierce animals (bears or mountain lions), they suddenly became quiet, so that he could reach them. So it would be with the enemy. If, on the contrary, he had dreamed the animals chased him, he would fail in this single combat. As usual, the Maricopa thought

[20] See p. 247. [21] P. 396.

[22] Cf. Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 745, 751.

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that success or failure must have been prefigured in a dream: "he did not tell his dream before he began, but might tell it much later when describing his battles."

The tactics of the Maricopa differed somewhat from their river foes. They made some use of cavalry, but wholly ineffectually. Their mounted men were elderly individuals and boys who went behind the footmen to encourage them and to charge. But the narratives relate how they sat their horses waiting for the outcome and charged through the mass, comprised of friend and foe together, depending on the weight of their steeds rather than any finesse of their arms. They too went down under the flailing clubs or were dragged from their seats to be butchered.

It is also astonishing that the Maricopa were backward in adopting the long staves which gave their Yuma opponents so much advantage. Beyond providing themselves at the last moment with poles, as the narratives relate, they depended wholly on their short clubs. This is intelligible if it meant learning definite procedure in fencing and parrying with these pole-length clubs, like the quarter-staff play of English yeomen, but there is no hint of such stereotyped handling of the weapons from Yuma sources.[23] My account also states that Yuma women and lads similarly armed gave support to their men, but it is noteworthy that nothing of the sort is said about the Maricopa when the Yuma and Mohave attacked them. What may have been a counter attempt of the Yuma to adopt Maricopa methods is implied in my Halchidhoma informant's statement that when the Yuma came in 1857, they did not use staves but their bows (and short clubs?) alone.

Not all conflicts with the Yuma were pitched battles. Occasionally a small body of raiders would visit the Yuma villages to do what damage they could (see p. 46).

Elementary strategy was sometimes employed. The warriors might be divided into three or four groups to approach the enemy village from as many directions. Then, when the enemy came out to attack the first party discovered, the others would rush the village.

[23] Cf. Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 170.

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● 726 Once when the Maricopa went to attack a Yuma village situated opposite the present town of Yuma, they were discovered while still on the east bank. They arranged for a few men to go forward openly toward the village. The Yuma crossed the river and pursued this small body. When they had been drawn some distance from the village, the main body of Maricopa, who had remained hidden in the brush, then rushed to attack the pursuers from the rear. The women in the village shouted warnings to their men. When the Yuma heard this, they turned back to meet the second body. But the Yuma were surrounded and nearly annihilated. Those who escaped discarded their bows and plunged into the Colorado despite its high banks. The Maricopa did not attack the village on the farther bank.

[787] It was held that such strategies must have been dreamed by the leader. "If he was successful, he must have dreamed it."

[773] From the time of the creation, people quarreled.[84] So the Mohave took the Yuma on their side to help in their fights as children do. Our people [Halchidhoma] did the same: they took the Walapai and Mission Indians [Cahuilla] on their side. When the creator died, people scattered, but they still had those enmities. That was how the Yuma and Maricopa came to fight.

The Maricopa started to war with the Yuma [possibly in 1838]. They reached the Colorado late in the afternoon. Two or three Yuma, who were fishing at a little stream, saw the Maricopa approaching. These men told them to stop and go home, else they would be annihilated. Even the bravest warriors declared that they should return, since the Yuma already knew of their coming. Some of our people urged the older men to fight. They took willow limbs and beat them to force them to do it. They had not yet decided whether to go on, when two Yuma came up carrying a Maricopa scalp. They bore it on a long pole, dancing up and down on the bank. Then one elderly Maricopa declared the scalp was that of his brother. He said that even though he went alone, he was going to fight the Yuma. So all declared they would fight on account of the scalp. These were the best warriors we ever had. All said they would fight because if they retreated it would be to their shame.

They started westward across the Colorado. The Yuma had long poles for clubs, a little above their heads in length. Every man, woman, and child had such a staff. Before the Maricopa crossed, they saw the Yuma carrying torches; going off to collect their forces. This continued all night. Toward morning the Maricopa knew the Yuma had all collected opposite. They knew they would be killed, but determined nevertheless to fight them. Better to kill an enemy and be killed in turn than to return without fighting.

Where they crossed the river were some Yavapai armed with bows on the bank in front of the Yuma. A great many of our best men were shot as they were crossing.

[84] These narratives were given by Kutox, the Halchidhoma informant. Another is recorded on p. 245. For Mohave and Yuma accounts of the affair of 1857, see Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 753; Gifford, *Yuma Dreams*, p. 63; Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West*, p. 45; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1857*, p. 300; see also Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, p. 148; Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 46 *et supra*.

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They marched to close with the enemy. Some had hip-length clubs but these were not long enough. Before they were close enough to use them, the Yuma beat them down with their long staves. Our men, striking at legs and hips, brought some of them down. But as the Yuma had much longer clubs, they knocked down a good many of our men with one blow. The Yuma had all put mud over their faces and bodies, down which they had scratched lines with their fingers, so that they should recognize their men in the fight. Both sides came up in several ranks, until they stood so thick one could hardly get through. As those in the front rank were knocked down, the men behind would step into their places.

Our men had a few horsemen with them, perhaps twenty or fewer. These rode once through the mob of Yuma and once back again. They charged through twice and no more. No one knew what became of our horsemen; perhaps the Yuma pulled them down and killed them.

This left our clubmen standing in a group, surrounded by Yuma, men, women, and children. The battle began about nine or ten in the morning and lasted until late in the afternoon. By that time all our people had been killed except two or three of the two hundred or more who went there. These few crawled back under their own men's legs as they fought the Yuma. That is how they were saved. (It is shameful to tell this, for these were the very ones who coaxed the others to give fight.)

Soon after that the Yuma came to our village near Sacate to fight. They had about the same number of men as we had at this village, and about one hundred Mohave came to help them. Our bravest warriors had been killed but we had some left, so the Yuma decided to come here to exterminate the whole tribe. The enemy and our people lined up a short distance apart. A Yuma walked up and down in front of their line, saying that he had come to live with the Maricopa, to be friends; that he had brought his men to take care of [rape] all the widows [they would create]. Then our man said that he had thought of going to the Yuma villages to take care of all the widows there, but thought he had better wait for some childish people to come to play with him. He might play a day or two, then he would start for the Colorado.

After the talk was ended, both sides shot at each other. Then the Maricopa sent word to the Halchidhoma, who lived [to the east] near Sacate, and to the Pima. Shortly after the fighting began, the Mohave deserted. When the Yuma saw the Halchidhoma and Pima horsemen arriving by hundreds, they felt afraid and fled. The Maricopa drove the Yuma toward the Gila, but killed nearly all before they had gone far. Only a few men escaped: some count five, some six.

The second trip of our people against the Yuma was much like the first. I was one year old at the time [1847 or 1848]. They crossed the Colorado, went north and then west, before circling back to the river. This was in the early morning before dawn. They were fairly certain that no one had seen them cross the river. Their idea was to return toward the bank, and if they found no one, to recross the river and return home. But the Yuma, who had discovered their tracks, gathered in a great crowd near the bank to cut them off. When they found themselves discovered, some went off to cut long poles for clubs. The Yuma again had long staves with which they easily beat down our men. Our men dropped so rapidly this time that the Yuma were sure all would be slain by noon. By that time there were but twenty or fewer of the Maricopa, but they kept up the fight until

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173 726 late afternoon, although completely surrounded by Yuma. Only a single Maricopa escaped this time; one who had cowardly fled to the other bank. He crossed the Colorado while the others fought, and hid in the bushes where he heard all that was said.

The second time the Yuma came here I was about nine years old [1857]. I can remember it pretty well. There were about three hundred Yuma with a few Yavapai and Mohave. We heard them coming early in the morning. All our women and children fled to viva'vls [Pima Butte near Sacate]. This time the Yuma and Mohave did not push on, but stopped at the first house of the village. Some were sent into the houses to collect all the food stored in them. Then they prepared something to eat, since they had come without eating. They remained there all morning.

Our men then tried to scare them away. But instead of retreating the Yuma advanced. The Maricopa of this village sent for the Halchidhoma and Pima again. Then the two parties clashed. But when the Yuma saw the horsemen arriving one by one, lines of them converging on the battle, they thought they were lost. At noon they fled. This time, instead of forcing the Yuma down to the river, the allies drove them south [southwest?] to the mountains [probably the Sierra Estrella]. The slain lay in piles, struck down as they fled. Only a few were left. These went on southward until they almost reached the foot of the mountain. The Maricopa left it to a few clubmen to finish these Yuma, but when they saw they might escape, the horsemen ran them down, so that those with clubs could beat them to death. Not one escaped this time.

Six years after this they made peace. I was then sixteen years old.

At the two attacks on the Yuma, there were only Maricopa and Halchidhoma. The Pima claim that some of them took part, but it was not so.

On another occasion before Kutox was born they attacked the Yuma. They were coming back without an engagement when they met the Yuma halfway between the Colorado and Gila Bend. The Yuma had circled around them to approach from the east. With the Maricopa were two Mexicans, one named pau'lln. The Maricopa could swim the Colorado, which was in flood, but the Mexicans could not. They were put on a raft formed of two logs with tules laid across, together with clothing, provisions, and drinking water, which the Mexicans paddled. But when they had almost crossed, the raft struck a snag, turned over, and one was drowned. The other was left for dead after the battle. Late in the day, he rose and attempted to follow the Maricopa tracks home. He got lost in the desert. Nine months later he wandered into the Maricopa village. Shoes and clothing were worn out: he was footsore. With bits of wood and strips of his clothing he had made makeshift sandals.

An account of an attack by Mohave was told as an example of the anecdotes told by the Maricopa to demonstrate the ludicrous behavior of the Halchidhoma, although the narrator (Kutox) was himself an Halchidhoma. The incident relates to a party of Halchidhoma who in the midwinter following their return to the Gila from Mexico, that is, about 1835, were visiting at Gila Bend.

The Halchidhoma men were assembled in the meeting house where they had been singing all night. When nearly dawn, the Mohave arrived in great numbers. A woman grinding outside repeatedly warned them. They did not heed; only told her to save herself. As people fled by the house, they put their heads inside and

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Halchidhoma

told the inmates to get their bows. But the old men only sang the louder with each warning until they could be heard at a great distance. 173

The singing brought the Mohave crowding around the house. They did not enter but broke holes in the walls to shoot through and crowded about the doorway to shoot in. Finally those inside—there were about one hundred—said, "It is not right for us to be burned in the house. Let us go out to fight like men." They called to the Mohave to clear away from the entrance. They painted their hair red and drew a black band across the eyes. They came out three abreast, moved forward a little so that three more could follow, and so on. They fought for a while but were all killed. 726

The Mohave cut off the heads of every one and carried them to the village, where they camped. They scalped the heads. They built a big fire in a hole, and when it had burned to coals, placed the heads around the fire, as one bakes pumpkins, as an insult. They warmed them on each side, raked away the coals, and baked the heads on the ground like pumpkins.

Raids against the Yavapai and their Apache neighbors may have been undertaken by large bodies of men but it is quite unlikely that they mustered for this purpose anything like the number who set out against the Yuma. Still the indications are that their number was frequently considerable, certainly more than the Yavapai were accustomed to send against them. The reason is obvious enough: a handful of Yavapai marauders were sufficient to pick off the more or less concentrated and settled Maricopa, where a far larger number was required for any effective campaign against these scattered, migratory mountain dwellers. Punitive expeditions into the mountains must have been far more infrequent than Yavapai attacks. 721

In this type of warfare the methods resembled those of the Yavapai themselves; a secret concentration near the enemy, a surprise attack, and an immediate return. The impression is that bows were used far more than in battles with the river Yumans. Battle formation was described as a line of bowmen, who were nevertheless close to the enemy for the reason that the arrows neither carried far nor were especially effective. Dependence was still on the short club. It seems probable that there was again something of a division of function, bowmen separate from clubmen; at least it was said several clubmen would proceed together. Half the party was said to have been mounted in these engagements. 726 [411] [709]

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

175 Bartlett saw a party set out against the enemy north of the Salt River in July
726 1852. "Their arms were solely the bow and arrow; most of them had a skin quiv-
er hung across their backs; though a few carried their arrows in their girdles."
[411] And in speaking of Pima-Maricopa armament in general, he wrote, "The only weapon used by these tribes is the bow and arrow. The short club of the Yumas and the long lance of the Apaches I never saw among them. The constant use of this weapon has rendered them excellent marksmen. Even the boys are very expert in the use of it."[25]

726 Moving northward toward the mountains, they would start out slowly and camp hidden in the thickets of the Salt River bottom. During the night the journey was resumed, bringing them near the enemy toward dawn. There they would rest all day. Late in the afternoon they moved to the actual attack. Only a [262] little ground parched wheat was carried for provisions. Rabbits might be killed on the way; these were roasted if it was safe.

726 A clairvoyant was always included in the party; one who had
787 dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote. While they were resting in the mountains, an older man would ask him to locate the enemy. Everyone must be quiet: the horsemen would lead their horses aside. The clairvoyant, standing beside a fire in the center of the [276] circle of seated men, proceeded to smoke four cigarettes. By the time he had finished smoking the first, he thought he was lifted off the ground a little. With the second and third, he was still higher, and when the fourth was finished, he dropped as though dead. After a few minutes he sat up. The man who had requested his aid now lit a cigarette to give him. The clairvoyant would then tell how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain to reveal the location and numbers of the enemy; had told him from which direction to approach, how easily he would find and kill them. The warriors then set off, led by this man.

726 When they reached the enemy, all rushed forward to see who would kill the first enemy. If the enemy were surprised asleep, everyone in the camp was killed, three or four families. They did not look on a slain enemy's face any more than was necessary.
727 As soon as they knew he was dead, they faced toward home, with their backs turned to the corpse and to the mountains, which were also conceived as enemies.[26] Apparently they were quite

[25] *Personal Narrative*, II, 217, 237.

[26] See p. 253.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukávl'k tatápoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

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Cocopa
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Yavapai

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sent travelling over the mountains, but killed never an enemy. The Yavapai had come down and killed some whites and their mules, taken the harness and burned the wagons. The Pima-Maricopa went to Fort McDowell, where they stayed a year looking for Yavapai. They came over to Sacate near the Maricopa villages where they heard Yavapai were stealing horses.

They pursued the Yavapai. There were three of them, armed one with a gun, another a bow, the third a sword. Some followed their tracks directly northward toward the mountains. Others, a large number including the boy Kutox, circled to get ahead of them.

The three Yavapai walked along side by side. When someone rushed at them, they turned to face him and the one with the gun made as though to shoot. Those following came up with them first, but no one dared go close. They continued following. Toward morning the three came to where Kutox's party was. Kutox started toward them to see if he could not beat one down. The man with the gun was facing those following, so he thought he would chance it. But as he drew near, the bowman turned on him; so he retreated. The one with the sword disappeared; perhaps crawled under a bush. The man with the gun walked backward, holding off his pursuers, so they kept trying for the bowman. Kutox tried again. Just as he got close, someone at a distance shot the Yavapai. He tried to rise, but Kutox dismounted and hit him on the head with a stone, killing him. (Because of this Kutox would have had to undergo purification when he returned, so he gave the credit to the one who had shot the Yavapai, "rather than starve", he said.[28]) This was at early dawn.

They knew two had escaped, so they scattered to search. Kutox felt very sleepy. He came close to a giant cactus, which he mistook for an enemy. He was afraid, so he dismounted and ran away. This has always been told as a joke on him.

PURIFICATION

R 783 727

The theme that physical contact with the enemy was defiling threads through all the proceedings that follow on the return of the war party. The enemy, his scalp, his women and children who were made captives were all extremely dangerous. They were "diseased"; they brought sickness to such as touched them; they had potentialities for harm of a magical order. Once struck down, the very sight of the enemy must be hurriedly avoided. Even the mountains of his land, spiritually his in a literal sense, must no longer be looked on. This was clearly not for fear of the dead as such, for they had no comparable strong concern for their own dead, but because the enemy had maleficent powers on his side. All persons and things that had had intimate contact with him must undergo a stringent rite of purification (mata-

R [753]

[28] Gifford recorded the same yielding of credit among the Cocopa. The one who took the credit had to undergo purification (Cocopa Ms).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

783 young man's hair for him. Even then this man would not dare
825 touch a drinking utensil after having touched the feather he wore, else those who used it would get sick. Kutox said he would not touch an eagle feather for anything!

Clairvoyants could reveal the whereabouts of the enemy or
787 forecast his coming. The clairvoyant shaman who accompanied
726 a war party into the mountains, one who dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote, smoked four cigarettes and fell as though dead. His smoking was thought to lift him high into the air. When he recovered he told how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain where the location and numbers of the enemy were revealed and how easily they might be slain. The war party then set off following his leadership.

To foretell if enemies were approaching on stormy nights when they might be expected, a shaman performed in the meeting house. His spirit was unknown to the informant. The per-
[823] formance was predicated on the belief that the mountains of the several tribal territories were partisans of their inhabitants. Four piles of dirt were made in the meeting house. This shaman went to each in turn, stooped, and sucked it up, groaning all the while. When he finished the fourth pile, he dropped "dead." They put him with a rattle in a little hut built inside the meeting house. Then the mountains came "in the form of persons": the audience felt the draft as they entered. "The house might be crowded, yet they could hear the mountain talk in there." A mountain would take the rattle, asking "How did they come to kill this man [the shaman]? What is wrong that you killed him?" The mountain spirit would say, "I am tired," and act the part. A man sitting beside the "dead" shaman answered, "Yes, I know you are tired, having come a long way. But this night we fear the enemy; for that reason we called you here." The mountain would reply, "No, the enemy are not thinking of you; perhaps some other time but not now. If you do not believe me, another person [mountain] will tell you." Then it left and immediately another mountain entered. "Even the mountain at Yuma came: it spoke Yuma." Then a mountain of Papago land came in; immediately the other left. The Papago mountain would say,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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"What is the matter with you? Were you asleep? Why did you not catch that one, an enemy, so I could club him to death?" The mountains also told if the enemy was on the way and how soon he would arrive. The interlocutor must know how to ask the mountain spirits: if he asked them wrong, the mountain would say, "Well, I do not know about the enemy, but I know that today an important person died," meaning only a lizard or a bug.

Forecasting who would win an inter-tribal race was a similar performance. Kutox described it as he once saw it while camping on the way to race with the Pima. When the shaman sang, he told them he had been instructed by his nakl'tc (grandparent's brother or step-father), a spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n.[36] They made only one dirt pile, in which someone secreted potsherds to test him. The shaman sang and rubbed his body, changing the dirt pile into foamy water, which he sucked in without stopping for breath. Again rubbing himself, he took the sherds off his body and flung them away. He fell "dead": everyone had to be quiet. When he recovered he told who would win. If the Maricopa were to win, he told how he had been handed many gifts by the spirit (symbolic of their winnings); otherwise the spirit said, "I was going to give you a certain thing, but now I cannot. I will do so later."

A shaman who had dreamed of Buzzard and Coyote could use his clairvoyant power to discover a thief, as well as the location of the enemy. He never mentioned the name of the thief, names being taboo, but described his clothing or habits.

Two instances were cited. An old woman got a shaman to discover a thief. He sat on the spot where she had last had the money, smoked four cigarettes, and told what she had done. On another occasion, a man left a bead necklace on the bank when he went swimming. It was gone when he returned: there were no footprints. He brought a shaman who made him stand where he had laid it. The shaman went along until he came to a tree, where he said there was a nest. "Sure enough, a crow had taken it there."

PRAYERS, OMENS, AND BELIEFS

Prayers (matyaxata'l) were not addressed to any spirit in particular, Mrs. Redbird thought. The air was full of spirits who

[36] Meaning unknown to informants, but seems to be based on cĭl,aai,' "sand."